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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—On Monday evening, the 1st ult., the *Manchester Union and Emancipation Society* held a *soirée* at the Athenæum Rooms, under the presidency of T. B. Potter, Esq., to review the proceedings of the year. It was well attended, and the addresses delivered were highly interesting.

On Wednesday, the 3rd ult., a meeting of the supporters and friends of the *London Emancipation Society* was held at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, to receive the report of its operations during the last twelvemonth. William Smith, Esq., Chair- of the Society, presiding. As the document is instructive, though brief, we give it *in extenso* in another column.

On the 6th ult., the *Alexandra* case came on again in the Exchequer Chamber, Sit- tings in Error, before Lord Chief Justices Cockburn and Erle, Justices Crompton, Blackburn, and Mellor, from the Court of Queen's Bench, and Justices Williams, Wil- les, and Keating, from the Common Pleas.

The Attorney-General, the Solicitor-Gen- eral, the Queen's Advocate, Mr. J. Locke, Q.C., and Mr. T. Jones, appeared for the Crown; Sir H. Cairns, Mr. Karslake, Q.C., Mr. Mellish, Q.C., and Mr. Kemplay, for the defendant.

Sir Hugh Cairns took a preliminary ob- jection to the jurisdiction of the Court, con- tending that there existed no authority by which the Court could establish new Courts of Appeal, as had been done in this case,

and that such authority could be conferred only by Act of Parliament. After a discus- sion involving inquiry into the extent of the jurisdiction of the Courts and the power of certain Acts of Parliament, judgment was deferred. On the 8th, the judges delivered their opinion. The appeal for a new trial was dismissed, on the ground of the Court's having no jurisdiction. The case will now be brought before the House of Lords. Vir- tually it stands where it did, after the pre- vious judgment of the Barons, recorded in our last, the only point which has been cleared up being as to the power of the Court to direct appeal to the House of Lords, which Sir H. Cairns successfully contended it could not do. The appeal to the Lords, as to the supreme tribunal, existed as a mat- ter of right.

The *Pampero* case came on in the Outer House of the Court of Session on the 11th ult. The "information" contains ninety- eight counts; and the owners and builders, the defenders, were represented by counsel. The defenders agreed to put in a minute of denial of the information as "untrue in fact, and bad in law." Some discussion arising on preliminary points, the case was adjourned. Upon the resumption of the case, in the Ex- chequer Court, before Lord Drumdale, Mr. Clark, for the owners, was heard at consid- erable length in support of the objections in the relevancy of the information, which he held was not drawn up in conformity with the statute, and did not libel the proper statutory offence. Of the ninety-eight counts, he con-

sidered that only one—viz. the fifty-seventh—relative to the equipment of a transport or store-ship, was the only one which was properly taken in terms of the Enlistment Act. Mr. Shand followed on behalf of the builders; and expressed his objections to going to trial on any information which was both ambiguous and indistinct. Mr. Rutherford, on behalf of the Crown, solicited adjournment of the case, which was granted, and the discussion was again adjourned.

Intelligence has reached this country of fresh piratical acts committed by the *Alabama* upon American vessels in the Eastern seas, and by another Confederate cruiser, a barque, name unknown, which stopped and boarded a British vessel named the *Earl*, bound from London to Bombay.

The *Liverpool Daily Post* published a statement on the 10th ultimo., to the effect that one of the fastest screw-steamers afloat would then shortly leave a British port in search of the *Alabama*, the *Georgia*, the *Florida*, the *Rappahannock*, and the *Tuscaloosa*.* The new steamer is said to have been purchased by, and to be fitting out at the sole expense of, two first-class English houses, one in Liverpool, the other in London, which have both suffered heavily by the depredations of the Confederate pirates. The new vessel, it is expected, will sail three or four knots an hour faster than the *Alabama*, is very much stronger, and will carry guns of larger calibre and power. Her commander is said to be a man of great experience.

BRAZIL.—On the 7th of September last Dr. A. M. Perdigão Malheiro, President of the Institute of Brazilian Advocates, delivered an address to the members thereof, in full assembly, upon the unlawfulness of property in slaves, the nature of the same, and the immediate abolition of Slavery.†

FRANCE.—The *Revue des Deux Mondes* for December last (only recently to hand) contains an excellent article on the French Antilles, by M. Ed. du Hailly, long a resident there. In our next we hope to reproduce a few extracts from it. We may state that the writer scouts the idea, so prevalent in certain quarters, of the freed negro's being lazy, and thoroughly vindicates him against this calumny.

UNITED STATES.—Our summary of American news this month is somewhat meagre. There has been a partial lull; probably that

which precedes a storm, for every thing indicates the approach of decisive action.

The War.—The season has been adverse to the movement of large masses of men, but neither of the belligerents has been inactive. The state is one of preparation. Both parties are feeling their way, and testing the strategic resources of the other. In Tennessee, Longstreet has been largely reinforced—it is said by 20,000 men—and there has been much marching and counter-marching on his side, with a view to the ultimate re-capture of Knoxville, and the forcing of Grant to evacuate Chattanooga. The Federal General, however, continues to hold his own, but his plan of future operations remains a secret. Demonstrations by detached corps have been made by both parties, in different directions with varying success, but without a decisive result in relation to the position of the belligerents.

We abstain from recording mere skirmishes, and manœuvres, and reports of movements extending over a constantly varying area, but may add that they indicate a determination on both sides to force, the one the position in East Tennessee held by the Federals, and the other, their way into Georgia, as soon as the weather will permit.

On the Potomac, matters remain in *statu quo*. The siege of Charleston continued, but no advance seemed to be made. It is probable an attack may take place from another quarter, as Admiral Dahlgren had left for Washington, to confer, as was supposed, as to ulterior operations.

A considerable naval force had left New Orleans, the destination of which was unknown. A combined movement of the land and sea forces was certainly intended, but against what part of the Confederacy was a subject of mere conjecture and speculation.

Congressional.—The House of Representatives had passed the confiscation resolution by eighty-two to seventy-four votes. By this resolution the lands of the Confederates may be confiscated in fee, and not merely for life.

In the Senate, Mr. Sumner has presented a petition from persons of African descent, praying for the privilege of elective franchise.

Mr. Sumner has also introduced a Bill to repeal all laws for the rendition of the fugitive slaves; and a second, providing against the exclusion of coloured witnesses in the United States' courts. Both were referred to a select Committee.

Miscellaneous.—President Lincoln has ordered a draft of 500,000 men to serve for three years, or during the war. The draft is to be made on the 10th of March, crediting and deducting therefrom so many as may have been enlisted or drafted prior to March 1st, and not heretofore credited.

* Cape papers of the 6th ult. report the seizure and detention and subsequent release of this vessel, in Simon's Bay, by H.M.S. *Narcissus*, by order of the Governor.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

† We hoped to give our readers a translation of this remarkable oration, but have been obliged to defer doing so.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

This order includes the 300,000 men called for in October last, and is in effect an additional call for 200,000 men.

A resolution has been introduced in the Maryland Legislature, endorsing President Lincoln's policy, amnesty, and proclamation, and favouring his re-election to the Presidency.

The California Senate has passed a resolution renominating Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency.

The Raleigh (North Carolina) press continues violently to denounce the measures of the Confederate Government and the universal conscription proposed by the Congress. It declares that the people will take their affairs into their own hands, and vindicate in a convention their liberties and privileges.

The correspondent of the *Boston Traveller* asserts that information had reached Newbern that a convention had been called in Raleigh for the purpose of carrying out the secession of North Carolina from the Southern Confederacy. This report requires confirmation.

A convention to form a new State constitution was to assemble at New Orleans on the 22nd ultimo.

In accordance with the request of the Arkansas delegation, President Lincoln has ordered the election in Arkansas of State officers and members of the State Legislature to take place on the 28th of the present month, upon terms somewhat similar to those proclaimed by Banks in Louisiana, except that in choosing State officers the people will have an opportunity to vote for or against the amendment to the State Constitution abolishing Slavery.

The delegates to the State Convention held at Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 8th January, adopted a resolution prohibiting Slavery. This Convention was one of the largest and most influential bodies ever convened in the State. Delegates from twenty-seven counties were in attendance, and of these counties only twelve are occupied by the national troops. The amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting Slavery in the State, was adopted with but one dissenting vote. These amendments were to be submitted to the people on the second Monday in March, and State officers, with members of the Legislature, would be elected at the same time. Those in attendance at the Convention assert that not less than 20,000 votes will be polled for the Constitution, which will be twice or thrice the number required under President Lincoln's proclamation.

In Tennessee the movement for a re-admission of that State into the Union is making good progress. At a mass meeting held at Nashville on the 21st ult., resolutions were passed denouncing Slavery as an evil in itself, and as the cause of the rebellion, and

advising the re-organization of the State Government by a constitutional Convention, composed of delegates pledged to immediate and universal emancipation. At the same meeting Governor Johnson made an earnest anti-slavery speech, in which he said that gradual emancipation was preposterous, for it proposed to fit the slave for freedom by prolonging his slavery.

The Governor of Tennessee has ordered the election of State officers in Tennessee on March 5. No disloyal persons can vote, and stringent oaths will be exacted from voters.

General Banks had ordered a State election in Louisiana. He is confident that more than a tenth of the population desire restoration to the Union. He declares void the State laws regarding Slavery, and appoints a Convention for the revision of the Constitution. Arrangements were being made to elect members to Congress. He had declared that all plantations in Louisiana not under cultivation by February would be considered abandoned estates and taken possession of by Government.

The Cherokee Legislature has revoked the ordinance of secession and the treaty with the rebel Government, passed by a former Legislature. It has also passed an Act deposing from office all Cherokees disloyal to the Government of the United States, and declaring them for ever thereafter incompetent to hold any office; also a resolution asking the President to extend to the nation the offer of compensated emancipation. At the same time a Bill has become a law unconditionally abolishing Slavery. It is understood that another law has been passed declaring all persons born in the Cherokee territory citizens of the nation. This includes persons of African descent as well as whites.

Rebellion.—The Confederate Congress has just decided that slaves and free negroes may be drafted into the army. Compensation for slaves drawn for military service is to be given to their masters.

WEST INDIES.—*Jamaica.*—Owing to a miscarriage of the post, some of our West-India papers have been delayed in delivery. To this circumstance, is attributable our not receiving copies of the "*JAMAICA GUARDIAN*" to the end of last year, giving a detailed report of a large public meeting held on the 11th December at the Court House. Manning's Town, St. Mary's, with the approval of His Honour the Custos, on the subject of the slave-trade to Cuba. The meeting was composed chiefly of those who had been slaves, and their descendants. The speeches were very racy, and a unanimous feeling was manifested in favour of compelling Spain to fulfil her treaties. A series of resolutions were passed, concluding with the following one:

"That the resolution passed this meeting be published once in the *Morning Journal*, *Tribune*, *Jamaica Guardian*, and *Watchman*; and that copies be prepared and forwarded to Viscount Palmerston, Earl Russell, His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Brougham, the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, Sir T. F. Buxton, Charles Buxton, Esq., Stephen Cave, Esq., John Bright, Esq., Richard Cobden, Esq., and the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.*

A Bill was under discussion in the Legislature, entitled "An Act for the more effectual punishment of larceny." It provides that any person guilty of stealing growing provisions, or small stock, shall, on the second conviction, be liable to corporeal punishment; twenty stripes if the offender is under sixteen, and fifty if he is above that age. Its introduction is sought to be excused on the ground of the increase of this offence, but it was causing much excitement.

The peasantry had struck for higher wages in several districts of the County of Cornwall. The alleged reason was the advance in the price of sugar in the English market, and the prospect of its further rise, and also because during the last eighteen months of depression the planters had insisted upon the performance of a larger amount of work for a shilling a day than was formerly demanded and given.

Trinidad.—A number of the inhabitants of this island have presented an Address to Mr. Fitzjames—late Queen's Advocate, Sierra Leone—whose persecution by Colonel Hill, actual Governor of Antigua,—we commented upon when Mr. Fitzjames was on the point of returning to the colony. The Address is one of sympathy and condolence, and Mr. Fitzjames' reply recapitulates the chief points of his case.

St. Vincent.—The *St. Vincent Witness*, copying from the *Antigua Times*, announces that the "gross and malicious falsehoods circulated by the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*," in relation to the St. Vincent riots, have been "utterly refuted by His Honour the Chief Justice," and that the Duke of Newcastle has expressed "his unqualified satisfaction with" (*sic*) "the explanations afforded, and has signified his intention of laying before Parliament all the papers connected with the affair."

Dominica.—The excitement in this colony, consequent upon the passing of the "Single Chamber Bill," had not diminished. A Memorial against it, addressed to the Queen, had been signed by 450 merchants, proprietors, and planters, by the President of the Council, by two actual and two late

Members of Council, by the chairman of the House of Assembly, by its late Speaker, and by twelve of its present members. The new Bill is alleged to be contrary to the Charter granted to the colony by George III., giving it a full and complete Legislature, and illegal on other specific grounds.*

Original Correspondence.

JAMAICA,

Brown's Town, Dec. 24, 1863.

ALL the evils we foretold the planters as likely to result from their Coolie immigration scheme, have been realized. It is acknowledged on all hands (as it was some fourteen or fifteen years ago, after the former experiment) to be a complete failure. It has increased the island debt; it has deprived considerable numbers of our native peasantry of employment; a large proportion of the immigrants are useless for agricultural purposes, and are neglected, wandering about the country begging, covered with sores, sick and starving; it has been next to useless to the planters, and must have involved some of them, while sugar was not paying, in considerable difficulty. The consequences to them will also be serious: they have driven native labourers to seek other means of obtaining a livelihood than by working on their estates, and will not be able to secure their labour when they need it; and they will have to bear part of the expense of sending the surviving Coolies back to India and China.

In consequence of the low price of sugar, there has been little work doing on the estates, and the labourers have had little employment: the coffee crop has failed; the pimento crop has proved better than was anticipated, but its low price scarcely pays for picking; and the provision crop, in many parts of the island, has been destroyed by the long drought and succeeding floods.

One result of the general distress arising from these things is the great increase of petty larcenies. The most industrious and careful of the people have had the fruits of their labour, on which they depend for the support of their families, swept away in a night.

The schools have had scarcely more than one-half the usual number of children in attendance, their parents being unable to provide them with sufficient food and decent clothing; and the Sabbath-day congregations have almost everywhere been greatly reduced, from the inability of the people to procure suitable raiment, and to pay their usual contributions for religious purposes.

* We should feel obliged if any of our Trinidad friends would inform us how the proposed measure is likely to affect the interests of the people of the island.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

* No such petition has reached the Secretary. (Ed. A. S. R.)

We do not, however, despair of Jamaica. The planters are beginning to hope for better days, as the last two or three packets have brought news that sugar is beginning to rise in price; and if God blesses us with good seasons, the peasantry will obtain better returns from their provision grounds. We also trust that those who are labouring for the moral and religious welfare of the people will be encouraged to persevere, not doubting that the good seed sown will yield a rich harvest.

We are anxiously looking towards the United States, hoping that, before long, Slavery and war will there come to an end.

While we rejoice at the emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch Colonies, we cannot but fear that the coercive measures to be employed to make the people work will give rise to similar heart-burnings and dissensions to those which prevailed here during the apprenticeship. There seems to be no safe half-way condition between Slavery and freedom: it must be "wages or the whip."

I hope you will be able to induce the Government to take more decided measures to induce Spain to abolish the slave-trade. I do not mean coercive measures, but such as one individual would adopt to another who proved himself to be a villain—withdraw from all fellowship with him. * * *

EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS.

LETTER NO. III.

THE MEASURES FOR ABOLISHING SERFDOM.

IN my first letter, I referred to the bearings of serf abolition on the present and future of Russia: in the second, I sketched the origin and evils of serfdom. In the present one I glance at the measures taken to abolish serfdom, involving a struggle, for a number of years, against a powerful aristocracy, whose interests extended into all departments of the State, while against them stood the young Emperor, who had taken the helm when, owing to the Crimean war, the vessel of state was almost a wreck. The peasantry were dumb beasts, and could make their complaints known to few. The hand of God was certainly in the movement, and exalted the cause of humanity and the rights of a semi-Oriental race, to triumph over all obstacles.

Peter the Great, though he had effected much for the internal development of Russia, and for the improvement of the class of the nobility—albeit a French polish—never extended his regards to the peasants: he burnt all the genealogical records of the nobility, to save himself from the trouble of deciding endless disputes for precedence, but he did not concern himself to prevent the noble treating the peasant as a beast.

Catherine II., a professed philosopher, the friend of Voltaire and the French illuminati, who avowed such a horror for serfdom as not to allow the word Slavery in the Russian dictionary, and who offered a prize in the Russian Academy

for the best essay on serf abolition, nevertheless extended serfdom over Little Russia. Soon the nobility and nomades became the only free persons in Russia. Serfs were sold like cattle in the market-place, while the lash seemed to inculcate the truth of the Moscow proverb "one man beaten is worth two unbeaten."

The first great move was made by Alexander I., who, on coming to the throne, announced his intention of not giving away serfs as a present to the courtiers; he devoted one million of roubles annually to purchasing lands for the Crown to settle serfs upon, under regulations favourable to emancipation.

Alexander I. sought to create a class of peasants possessed of land, but the nobles and bureaucracy, as usual, greatly impeded the working of this measure. He ordered that no peasants should be sold without the land, yet an old woman was sold, under the windows of his palace, for eight shillings! The serfs of the Baltic provinces had often risen in revolt, and the abolition of feudalism in France gave an additional impetus to the cause. In 1803, he issued a ukase, inviting proprietors to emancipate their serfs, but it remained a dead letter, as did a similar one under Nicholas, except in the case of the Baltic provinces.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia necessitated an appeal to the serfs to defend their country; on the other hand, the Russian armies who had marched across the continent, brought back with them a stock of more liberal ideas on the dignity of man—for those that had fought for liberty abroad could not advocate consistently despotism at home—and these two causes combined raised a ferment among the serfs.

The Government took the question up, for Alexander, on coming to the throne, had made a vow, that during his reign the number of serfs should not be augmented. In giving grants of land he stipulated, as one of the conditions, that the peasant should not be sold as a beast. But the influence of the nobles was too strong for him. He found the truth of the saying: "L'ame du courtisan est un abime impossible a sonder;" and he was often reminded, that Russian autocracy is an absolute monarchy, tempered by strangulation, and the passive resistance of the high functionaries, who invariably objected that the serfs were not prepared for liberty; but they did nothing to prepare them for it. He nevertheless maintained his opposition. One day, talking with a Russian lady on the subject, he was so excited, that he seized a sacred picture, and swore by it that he would abolish serfdom; and when death surprised him, in 1825, he was arranging his abolition plans.

The Emperor Nicholas had been imbued by his preceptor, Storch, with notions hostile to serfdom, but his love of despotism prevented his taking any decisive measures against the system, as he knew its abolition involved that of autocracy: the avalanche would be let loose. He took, however, some preparatory steps in 1842, but the opposition of the nobles was too strong, and his dread of the revolution of 1848 too great to lead him to adopt decisive measures.

In Poland, however, Nicholas obtained for the peasants the perpetual usufruct of their lands, at

a fixed rent. He wished to extend this privilege to the whole of Russia, but, despot as he was, he dared not, although he saw that a free peasantry would be a bulwark for the crown against an united, grasping, ambitious aristocracy. But on his dying bed he bequeathed his design, as a duty to his son.

Alexander II. nobly carried this wish out. Isolated, in the midst of a court which rather sought to thwart than encourage him; with the mass of the nobility arrayed against him; he had no support but in a rising press and a small minority of enlightened men. Calm in the midst of interested excitement, he carried his plans through, with a perseverance which astonished all men. The Emperor, from the commencement of his reign, had announced his resolution to his private friends; but the conclusion of the Crimean war gave him the first opportunity. He formed, in January 1857, a secret Committee, composed of high functionaries, but they were not well affected, and procrastinated. The Emperor then took the matter into his own hands, and availed himself of a petition which had been sent him by the Polish nobles of Lithuania, to the effect that liberty might be granted to the peasants, but without the land. This enabled the Emperor to open the question. He not only granted liberty to meet to discuss the subject, but ordered, on the 20th of November 1857, that Committees should be formed throughout Russia, with a similar object, on the basis that the nobles should have the property in the land, but the peasants the right to redeem it at a fixed rate. Certain portions were to be given at a fixed rent, sufficient to support themselves and their families, the peasants be organized in rural communes, administered by themselves on the basis of self-government.

Nothing was so unexpected by the nobles: this ukase fell as a thunderbolt on a class whose estates were encumbered, like those of Irish landlords, and who lived as absentee drones on the labour of serfs. They had, however, to make a virtue of necessity, and to form forty-five Committees, one in each of the Governments: these continued at work until the spring of 1859, elaborating plans for emancipation suitable for each district.

In each district two gentlemen, chosen by the nobles, assembled in the Government town: to them the Government added two persons of their own choice from each Government, the basis of a liberal minority. Each Committee was allowed six months to complete a project; and these, when finished, were sent to St. Petersburg. But a question arose in consequence of variety of plan, and as each Committee was composed of two parties, a division resulted; a majority, against liberation with the land, and a minority who had proposed much better conditions for the peasant. A terrible feud arose between these two parties: the minority was threatened with expulsion, and some of the members were even challenged to fight duels. This minority was composed of independent men, who, as liberals generally, had hitherto been independent, or indifferent to the Government.

In the beginning of 1859, the plans were ready, and were sent to St. Petersburg, but no

one there seemed competent or willing to make a general scheme out of it. In this state of suspense, a deliverer was raised up.

The Emperor then chose General Rosotsef. He had been in the conspiracy of 1825, and had denounced it to the Emperor Nicholas: hence, up to emancipation, he was in disgrace with the liberal party. In him the Emperor had confidence, though previous to this time, he had not occupied himself with the peasant question. The Emperor required him to form a Commission, to choose the members out of the nobles and some of the Petersburg functionaries, and to be President self. This Commission was considered as likely to become a mere piece of red-tape agency, but it soon assumed action, and being composed of about forty members, it divided itself into various sub-Committees.

Rosotsef presided for a year, and died: he won for himself the title of the Wilberforce of Russia. He worked at the question even when death was stealing on him. His last words were: "My strength is failing me, but I will continue at the work to the last sigh: the grave alone can detach me from the question of the peasants." A fellow-labourer with him was the Grand Duchess Helène, who herself set a noble example in emancipating her own serfs, and whose interest at court has invariably been in favour of every benevolent enterprise in Russia. Rosotsef was succeeded by Count Tanin, Minister of Justice, the owner of 25,000 serfs, and a most determined enemy of emancipation; but as public opinion was against emancipation, the Emperor chose Tanin as a man who would obey orders, and would not excite suspicion, because all thought that under him the question would be shelved. This Commission sat eighteen months, and concluded its work in the autumn of 1860: its most active members were Messrs. Miliauten Samarine, and Prince Teherkasky.

The report was then transferred to a Committee called the Superior Committee, composed of ministers and the Grand Duke Constantine.

In January 1861 it was transferred to the Council of State, which voted against emancipation by a majority of forty to six; but the Emperor approved of the plan of the minority, with a few changes, and the glorious measure was carried by the power of autocracy alone.

March the 5th, 1861, was a memorable day in Russia. On that day was read the proclamation of liberty, which tore asunder from twenty-three millions, the bonds of ages, and "let the oppressed go free." From the steps of the high altar in Isceis church, Petersburg, before assembled thousands, was this decree of liberty read by the priests. The reading lasted half an hour, while not a rustle, not a cough, not a moving of a boot-heel on the marble pavement of the church, even broke the silence. The decree concluded with the words: "Sign thyself, oh Christian native, with the sign of the cross; and together with us call for the blessing of God upon thy FREE labour." On this a broad rushing wave seemed to roll through the church, as a thousand hands made the sign of the liberating cross, and the chains of Slavery fell to the ground: it was a great, a holy, a truly Christian moment in the life of the Russian people. The people left the church amid

the cries of "Long live the Czar! The word of the Czar never fails." One isuletuk said to his companion, "Ah, but there are two years yet to the completion." The other replied, "You would have it all done out of hand at once, would you? Why, you yourself take some three hours to harness your horse." It is a remarkable fact, that though this was the last day of the carnival, yet scarcely a single drunken man was seen in the streets; the gin-shops were empty, the churches full; the brandy sellers were the only persons sad on that day.

The following are some of the points of this ever memorable ukase. It states that the Emperor, on being called to the throne, promised, from the bottom of his heart, to be faithful to the mission entrusted to him; to bestow his affections and care on all his subjects, from the warrior who defended the state to the humble artisan devoted to labour; from the high functionary of state to the peasant whose plough furrowed the plains: that in considering the different classes of the empire, he was convinced that while the legislation of the empire had provided for the organization of the higher and middle classes, their rights and privileges, it had not attained the same effect with regard to the peasants attached to the soil. The rights of the proprietors had been greatly extended and imperfectly defined by law: this had been supplemented by tradition and custom. In the most favourable cases this order of things had established patriarchal relations founded on patriarchal relations; but in proportion as the simplicity of manners diminished and the mutual relations became more complicated, the paternal character of the relations of the proprietors with the peasant had become more feeble; besides as the proprietor's authority fell sometimes into the hands of individuals exclusively occupied with their personal interests, these bonds of mutual benevolence were relaxed, and a wide career had been opened to arbitrary power.

The Czar concludes by stating: "The question of ameliorating the condition of the peasants is a sacred legacy, handed down to me from our ancestors, a mission that, in the course of events, Divine Providence calls on us to fulfil. He recalls to the nobles the examples of men of their class, who, through regard to the dignity of man and love to their neighbour, have renounced their rights: to the peasants he calls to mind the need of industry, economy, and the fear of God, as the best laws cannot guarantee their own welfare if men do not labour after it themselves."

While the serfs were declared from that day absolutely free, two years were allotted to conclude arrangements between the serfs and proprietors, as respected rent and plots of land. This period has passed away in peace and quietness: no revolution, no bloodshed, and the Russian peasant stands out to the world now, not only a free man, but also possessed with municipal privileges superior, to those of any peasant in the world.

I shall now make a few general remarks on some of the features of the measure.

Emancipation was pre-eminently the work of the Emperor, who risked his crown to save the peasant and also to save Russia; for it is

certain that had the measure been postponed much longer, the peasants would have risen in insurrection, and a fearful conflagration might have arisen which would have thrown Russia back full a century. But emancipation has placed her on the track of self-development, and as an ally with England and North America in the final crusade against Slavery. Though preparatory steps had been taken by previous sovereigns, yet it was, under Providence, to the indomitable perseverance of Alexander II. that serf abolition was due. In 1856, at Moscow, in the presence of the assembled nobles, the Czar pronounced these famous words: "Reform must come from the upper classes if we do not wish the lower orders to take the initiative." This led at once to a course of action in Lithuania and St. Petersburg, and in June 1858 the Emperor abolished serfdom in all the domains of the royal family, while he severely reproved the nobles of Vledimer and Moscow for their delay; and he was so indignant with the latter as to refuse them an audience when he visited Moscow.

Tremendous and untiring was the opposition the Czar had to encounter, with an immense majority in Council—forty to six—his immediate advisers against him, and endeavouring to frighten him, as they did his resolute father, by presenting the catastrophe of revolution as the certain result of emancipation. He remained firm as a rock, supported by a few "faithful among the faithless"—such was pre-eminently Ropochin—willing to risk his crown and life to save the peasant. The Germans, the Poles, and the aristocracy were opposed to it utterly.

The friends of the peasant had also to face much bitterness in social life from those whose interests were built on the degradation of the peasant. In various cases, the ordinary courtesies and amenities of society were refused to those proprietors who were in favour of emancipation, or from those who, resided far away from the peasants, whose complaints never reached their ears, excepting through the coloured statements of venal agents. They were denounced as socialists and communists, while the example of England was held up, which granted not the land to the peasant, by Act of Parliament. Political economy also was cited in its principles of individual rights and security of property.

He had an auxiliary however. The press lent its aid, as far as it was free, to the cause of emancipation. In the days of Catherine II. the *Société Economique* proposed for a prize essay the subject of the economic results of serfdom: later Raditscheff attacked serfdom, which led to his exile to Siberia, the first martyr in this cause: he was pardoned by Alexander I.

Storch, an eminent writer on political economy, was the first who, in 1815, pointed out, in clear and forcible writing, the evils, commercial and moral, resulting from serfdom: his writings were the text-book of the Emperor Nicholas. He shewed that, though aggrandizing some few great proprietors, it pauperized thousands, and impeded the development of the nation. After him came Nicholas Tourgenuef, who, both by his pen and influence in favour of serf abolition, has

won for himself the title of the Nestor of Emancipation.

About 1840, Gogol Tourgenuf wrote some excellent tales descriptive of rural life, in which the evils of serfdom were pointed out in graphic and poetic pictures, illustrating the serf's condition, without directly attacking serfdom, to do which was prohibited. Exile to Siberia was the penalty imposed by Nicholas for discussing the subject directly. The Crimean war gave a fresh impetus to the press on this subject, and some of the proprietors discussed in the papers of the day, various ameliorative measures. All these discussions prepared the public mind. When, in 1857, the abolition of serfdom was resolved on by the Emperor, the press was authorized to discuss this question fully in all its details, as to the best mode of carrying it out, but they were not allowed to defend serfdom. Two new journals sprang into existence exclusively devoted to this question; and economic literature for a time took the lead of the literature of fiction. The important feature in connection with this movement is, that all the forty-six Committees belonging to provinces of the empire, far apart, have rejected the idea of any indemnity being due to serf proprietors. The preamble of every report of these separate Committees commenced with the following words: "The nobility renounce for ever, without looking for any indemnity whatever, the right of possessing serfs." This has facilitated very much the efforts of the Government. The smaller proprietors, however, having suffered much by emancipation, were allowed a million sterling as compensation.

In my next letter I shall state the basis of emancipation, peasant proprietorship, and self-government by village municipalities.

J. LONG.

WHAT THE REBELLION IS DOING.

SLAVERY is being extensively condemned by those who, not long since, defended and upheld it. Decried under such circumstances, it is impossible it can survive the present struggle. We extract from the October Number of the *New-England Publication Society's* sheets, the conclusion of a remarkable speech, then recently delivered by Colonel Creswell, the present leader of the party of progress in Maryland:

"THE SLAVE POWER AND EMANCIPATION.

"In years gone by there was a power here that ruled us with a rod of iron. I was under the influence of it, I admit it, and so were you. We never dared even to dispute its supremacy.

"Slavery, then, was not a question of political economy; it was a question of political power; and we, all cowards that we were, shrunk before it. That day has passed in Maryland. The white men of Maryland have been first emancipated, and we dare now say to the world that our proud old State, though bleeding and torn, shall come out of this fearful contest like a goddess disenthralled, with the crown of freedom upon her brow.

"Now, away with all malice and bitterness of

spirit, and let us look at the question before us with calmness and with due consideration.

"Suppose we had no Slavery in Maryland, would any man here say we should introduce it? Would any man, woman, or child in this assemblage say, 'Let us have Slavery in Maryland?' Not one. If there were such a person, I should think that the first committee of lunacy to whose tender consideration the unfortunate creature would be committed, would deem that declaration a sufficient cause for sending him to the asylum. Why do I say so? Not because I feel vindictive against those who own slaves. My own father and grandfather were slaveholders, and I have for them the utmost respect. Many of my relatives in Maryland have been slaveholders, though I have never occupied that relation myself. But I say so, because all unbiased minds will admit, that that community is most prosperous and most happy where Slavery has never existed.

"Let us look at it as a question of political economy. I have here some statistics which I prepared last night in looking over the census returns of 1860. Our first census was in 1790, and Texas and Florida, and the whole Louisiana region, have been since added to our slave territory. In 1860 all the territory within the United States, regarded as slave territory, contained a population of 12,210,291, including white and black, slave and free. In 1860, the Free States, exclusive of the district of Columbia and the Territories, contained 18,907,753 people, an excess of more than six millions over the Slave States. We ask why is this? Why does population in the Free States increase so much more rapidly than population in the Slave States? Perhaps some one may say, 'They have a great deal more territory; they are a great deal larger.' Are they? Let us look at that.

"The Slave States contain an area of 844,084 square miles; the Free States, all told, contain 622,597 square miles. The Slave States have over 200,000 more square miles. Then, that is not the reason. There must be some other. What other reasons can there be? Another may say, 'The Free States started ahead; they had a great many more people to commence with.' Was it so? In 1790 the Slave States had a population of 1,961,372; the Free States 1,968,455, shewing an excess of only 7183 in favour of the Free States over the Slave. That is not much start to begin on; certainly not much start to make 7,000,000 out of. In 1850 the Slave States had a population of 9,612,769, the Free States 13,434,922. It is unnecessary for me to give you again the figures for 1860.

"But another objector may say, 'You take the whole country over, these fellows up North have the best territory, and, besides all that, up there they do things economically, and can raise babies a great deal cheaper than we can. Pick us out now two States that have about the same advantage; or, if you please, give the South a little bit of the advantage, and see then how it will work.' Very well. I will do so. Now I will take the great State of the South—that State which was the leading State in the Confederacy at the time of the adoption of the Constitution—I will take Old Virginia. Virginia has

an area of 61,352 square miles. In 1790 her population was 748,308. She was then the first State in population and wealth, as she was the first in influence, in the Union. New York has 46,000 square miles—15,322 less than Virginia. In 1790 New York was a fifth in population; she had only 340,120 people. In 1820 New York became the first in population, as she still is. In 1850 the population of Virginia was 1,421,661; the population of New York 3,097,394. In 1860 the population of Virginia was 1,596,818, throwing all the negroes in. In 1860 the population of New York was 3,850,735—New York rather ruling ahead.

"But perhaps it may be said, 'New York had peculiar facilities; she had an immense trade; she had the best harbour in the world; of course she must grow; take some other States that are far away from the sea-board, and try them.' Very well; try Kentucky and Ohio. I think Kentucky has a little the advantage in climate over Ohio, as Virginia certainly has over New York. Virginia has three or four large rivers; New York has but one. I take Kentucky and Ohio, because they are nearly equal in area, and are both removed from the sea-board, and they adjoin each other. Kentucky was admitted into the Union in 1790, with an area of 37,080 square miles. Ohio was not admitted till twelve years after, with an area of 39,964 square miles. The population of Kentucky in 1850 was 982,405; that of Ohio 1,980,329. In 1860 the population of Kentucky 1,155,684; that of Ohio 2,339,511. There is a very marked difference. Ohio has double the population of Kentucky.

"Oh, but some one may say, 'All that does not apply to Maryland; she has increased more rapidly than any other State: she has 700,000 people now.' Well, let us take Maryland, and as she is a small State, we will contrast her with some free State of about the same extent. Maryland has an area of 9356 square miles; Massachusetts has an area of 7800 square miles. The population of Maryland in 1790 was 319,718; that of Massachusetts 378,717—a little more than that of Maryland. In 1850 the population of Maryland was 583,034; that of Massachusetts 994,514. In 1860 the population of Maryland was 687,040, that of Massachusetts 1,231,066—almost twice the population of Maryland, counting all shades and all colours, notwithstanding all emigration.

"But it may be said, 'There are other considerations besides population; that does not mean any thing. People like to stay up in Massachusetts; they can get work there and cannot get it down here.' Ah! that is the question. Why cannot free men come here and get work? In Maryland, in 1850, the value of all property was \$219,217,364; in 1860, \$376,919,944. The value of all property in Massachusetts, in 1850, was \$573,342,286; in 1860, \$815,237,433. Thus Massachusetts has not only twice as many people as Maryland, but more than twice as much wealth. The average value of land in Maryland is \$11 per acre, based upon the actual value of real estate as contained in the census of 1860. The average value of land in Massachusetts, according to the same authority,

is \$95 per acre, nearly nine times as much. How do you account for that?

"Then somebody says, 'Oh, Massachusetts is an exceedingly fortunate State; they are sharp Yankees up there; they have a wonderful degree of trickery, and in a bargain they can cheat all creation.' Well, then, let us come a little nearer home—let us take up New Jersey. I know that eastern shore men are abused all over creation as being rather anti-progressive; but I never yet saw an eastern shore man who would not get mad if you called him worse than a Jerseyman. Now, how is it with Maryland and New Jersey? Maryland, as I have already said, has an area of 9356 square miles, and in 1860 had a population of 687,649. New Jersey has an area of 8320 square miles, considerably less than Maryland. The population of New Jersey in 1790 was 184,139; that of Maryland 319,728. The population of New Jersey then was about three-fifths that of Maryland. In 1850 the population of New Jersey was 489,555, and in 1860, 672,035—only 15,000 behind the State of Maryland, and only 25,000 negroes, when we have 170,000.

"But that is not all. The Jersey men who raise sweet potatoes and cantaloupes and water-melons (in which products we also have an interest), have a way of making money too. They have prospered without slaves, and remember that it was in 1820 that New Jersey abolished Slavery. The value of property in New Jersey in 1850 was 200,000,000 \$ols. (partly estimated), which was less by 19,000,000 \$ols. than the value of property in Maryland. In 1860 the property of New Jersey had increased in value more than twofold; her real and personal property was then valued at 467,918,324 \$ols.

"Gentlemen, is not the State of Maryland as good as the State of New Jersey? Can we not hold our own with that sandy State? I am sure we can; and yet the census returns show that although the land in Maryland averages but 11 \$ols. per acre, the land in New Jersey, poor as it is (and I was going to say that some of it over which I travelled I would hardly have as a gift), is worth 30 \$ols. per acre the State over.

"Why is this? Is it because of climate? Is it because of soil? Is it because of a want of industry in our people? Is it because New-Jersey men have more bodily or mental vigour than Marylanders, or have any particular advantages or facilities over Marylanders? No. The conclusion is irresistible; the proof is so strongly cumulative that we cannot argue against it. Though we have been reared and raised in a slave-holding community, we must acknowledge that Slavery has sapped our energies, and that it has impeded our onward march to prosperity and wealth. In the same spirit of candour that I have brought to the consideration of this question, go home and get your census reports and study them all over, and see if thinking men can come to any other reasonable conclusion.

"The question of emancipation now is forced upon us. It is no longer a matter of choice. You must have labour; you cannot have slave-labour; what labour will you have? What labour can you have other than free-labour? The rebellion has brought this question home to us.

We must meet it like men. The only thing that is left to us, as a question of policy, is at once to call our Convention, to emancipate the slaves upon some carefully-devised, some well-considered plan, to institute a new system of labour, and then call upon old Maryland to awake from her lethargy, to lean upon the strong arm of free-labour, and place herself in fair competition with the Free States of the North.

"There is no alternative left us. We are bound to take up this question now in all its bearings; and after turning it over in our minds and viewing it in every conceivable light, the conclusion is inevitable that Maryland must be a *FREE STATE*. Men, who had examined this subject, came to this conclusion more than two years ago. They saw it coming. There is now a crisis in our affairs, and if we are wise we will avail ourselves of it. We will assert our rights as freemen, to decide our destiny for ourselves. We will determine, now and for ever, that free white men are not degraded by manly toil to a level with the slave, and that hereafter free-labour shall consecrate our efforts, and bring down the blessings of God upon our people.

"Fellow citizens, a new era has dawned upon Maryland. From the smoke and blood of a mighty war, waged to perpetuate human bondage, new principles have leaped into existence, fully armed, aggressive, already half victorious. Speech and opinion have been liberated, and already thousands who but lately were groping darkly in the midst of doubts and uncertainties, who but yesterday stood appalled before the power of a direful superstition, now clearly see fast coming, as an act of God, a decree of liberty and progress for Maryland."

Another testimony, even more remarkable, is that of the Hon. F. W. Gantt, of Little Rock, Arkansas, who has published a lengthy address, in pamphlet form, from which the subjoined extracts are taken :

"NEGRO SLAVERY.

"I am asked if Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation will stand. He has the physical force at his disposal to carry it out. If you cease now, you may save all in your hands, or compromise on gradual emancipation. But let, I beseech you, the negro no longer stand in the way of the happiness and safety of friends and kindred.

"The changes of sentiment, upon this question, in the South, have been curious. Not many years since, it was by no means unusual for the press and public men, as well as for the people generally in the South, to concede that Slavery was an evil, and regret that it should ever have existed; expressing, however, no disposition or desire to be rid of it. Yet, a few years more—the demand for cotton having increased, the price of negroes having advanced, and the agitation of the Slavery question having increased in virulence—finds us defending Slavery as a divine institution. Be Bow's Review and other Southern papers and periodicals, with Senator Hammond of South Carolina, were prominent in its defence. Their object was to edu-

cate the Southern mind to this belief. Such a course had become vital to the existence of Slavery; because, to concede that negro Slavery was morally wrong, was virtually to concede the whole argument to the Abolitionists. As the controversy warmed, we became sensitive; and so morbidly so, that the North might have threatened with impunity to deprive us of horses, or other property; yet the whole South would be ablaze if some fanatic took one negro. Such was public sentiment South, at the commencement of this most unfortunate and bloody struggle. But revolutions shake up men's thoughts, and put them in different channels. I have recently talked with Southern slaveholders from every State. They are tired of negro Slavery, and believe they could make more clear money, and live more peaceably, without than with it. As for the non-slaveholder of the South, I honestly thought the struggle was for him, more than for his wealthy neighbour; that to free the negro, would reduce to comparative Slavery the poor white man. I now regret, that instead of a war to sustain Slavery, it had not been a struggle at the ballot-box to colonize it. This will clearly be the next struggle.

"I am of the opinion, that whether it is a divine institution or not, negro Slavery has accomplished its mission here. A great mission it had. A new and fertile country had been discovered, and must be made useful. The necessities of mankind pressed for its speedy development. Negro Slavery was the instrument to effect this. It alone could open up the fertile and miasmatic regions of the South, solving the problem of their utility, which no theorist could have reached. It was the magician which suddenly revolutionized the commerce of the world by the solution of this problem. It peopled and made opulent the barren hills of New England, and threw its powerful influence across the great North-west. Standing as a wall between the two sections, it caught and rolled Northward the wealth and population of the whole world, and held in their places the restless adventurers of New England, or turned them along the great prairies and valleys of the West. Thus New England reached its climax, and the North-west was overgrown of its age, while the South, with its negro labourers, was sparsely settled, and comparatively poor. Thus Slavery has done its utmost for New England and the North-west, and was a weight upon the South. If, at this point, its disappearance could have clearly commenced, what untold suffering and sorrow might have been avoided.

"Its existence had become incompatible with the existence of the Government; for while it had stood as a wall, damming up the current and holding back the people and labourers of the North, it had, by thus precluding free intercourse between the sections, produced a marked change in their manners, customs, and sentiments. And the two sections were growing more divergent every day. This wall, or the Government, one must give way. The shock came which was to settle the question. I thought the Government was divided, and negro Slavery established for ever. I erred. The Government

was stronger than Slavery. Re-union is certain; but not more certain than the downfall of Slavery. As I have said, the mission of the latter is accomplished. And as his happiness must always be subordinated to that of the white man, he must, ere long, depart on the footprints of the red man, whose mission, being accomplished, is fast fading from our midst.

"While I think the Mission of the negro is accomplished here, I am clearly of the opinion that the time will come when civilization and learning shall light up the dark abodes of the four hundred million people in India, and when their wants and necessities will put the patient and hardy negro to toiling, and opening up the great valley of the fertile but miasmatic Amazon. But such speculations are out of place here.

"Let us, fellow-citizens, endeavour to be calm. Let us look these new ideas and our novel position squarely in the face. We fought with negro Slavery and have lost. We may have to do without it. The inconvenience may be great for a while; the loss heavy. This, however, is well nigh accomplished. Yet behind this dark cloud is a silver lining; if not for us, at least for our children. In the place of the bondsman, will come an influx of people from all parts of the world, bringing with them their wealth, arts, and improvements, and lending their talents and sinews to increase our aggregate wealth. Thrift and trade and a common destiny will bind us together. Machinery in the hills of Arkansas will reverberate to the music of machinery in New England, and the whirl of Georgia spindles will meet responsive echo upon the slopes of the far-off Pacific. Protective tariffs, if needed, will stretch in their influence from the lakes to the gulf, and from ocean to ocean, bearing alike, at last, equally upon Arkansian and Vermonter, and upon Georgian and Californian. Differences of section and local sentiment will wear away and be forgotten, and the next generation be more homogeneous and united than any since the days of the revolution. And the descendants of these bloody times will read, with as much pride and as little jealousy, of these battles of their fathers, as the English and Scotch descendants of the heroes of Flodden Field read of their ancestral achievements in the glowing lines of Scott, or as the descendants of highland and lowland chiefs, allusions to their fathers' conflicts in the simple strains of the rustic Burns.

"Let us live in hope, my grief-stricken brothers, that the day is not far distant when Arkansas will rise from the ashes of her desolation, to start on a path of higher destiny, than, with negro Slavery, she ever could have reached; while the re-united Government, freed from this cankering sore, will be more vigorous and powerful, and more thrifty, opulent and happy, than though the scourge of war had never desolated her fields, or made sorrowful her hearthstones.

"The sooner we lay down our arms and quit this hopeless struggle, the sooner our days of prosperity will return.

THE NEGRO MARTYR.

"To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"DEAR SIR,—In the present day people seem determined to ignore what has ever been and ever will be, the effect of slaveholding on the slaves' masters. This conviction induces me to ask you to present in the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* the accompanying. It would be a reprint, but doubtless it would be quite new to the members of the *Manchester Southern Club*, and some of them might perhaps learn from it in whose service they are associated.

"Your's truly,

"FREDERICK TUCKETT."

"A negro slave went to hear the preaching of a Missionary, and became a convert to the Christian religion. His master, a great enemy to Missions, hearing of it, commanded him never to go again, and declared he would have him whipped to death if he did. The poor negro was very sad. He could scarcely refrain from going, yet knew that he was sure to be cruelly whipped if he did. In his trouble he prayed to God, and, after having done this, he felt that it was his duty still to attend, but to be careful that this should never interfere with his master's business, and for the rest to leave himself in the hands of God. He therefore went, and, on his return, was summoned into his master's presence. After much harsh language, he was tied up to a post, and received twenty-five lashes.

"Then, in a tone of blasphemous ridicule, his master exclaimed, 'What can Jesus Christ do for you now?' 'He enables me to bear it patiently,' said the poor slave. 'Give him twenty-five lashes more.' He was obeyed. 'And what can Jesus Christ do for you now?' asked the unfeeling monster. 'He helps me to look forward to a future reward,' replied the sufferer. 'Give him twenty-five lashes more,' cried the inhuman tyrant, in a transport of rage. They complied; and while he listened with savage delight to the groans of his dying victim, he demanded, 'What can Jesus Christ do for you now?' The patient martyr, with the last effort of expiring nature, meekly answered, 'He enables me to pray for you, massa,' and instantly breathed his last!

"Poor coloured negro! oh, what eye
Can read thy tale, and still be dry?
Thy pangs were great, but now thou'rt blest,
Reposed in peace on Jesu's breast."

Look Forward to the Future Reward; or, The Slaveowner and the Martyr Slave. Dedicated to the Presidents, to the Vice-Presidents, to the Committee-men, to the Secretaries, and to the members of the Manchester Southern Club.]

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1864.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR Subscribers are solicited to take notice that their Subscriptions to the Anti-Slavery Society's Funds, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, fall due on the 1st of January every year. They are respectfully requested to forward the amounts due, by Post-office Order, payable to L. A. Chamerovzow, at the Post-office, Moorgate Street, E.C., London.

Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* who desire to receive their copies stamped, are asked to intimate their wish, in order that the publisher may regulate his order for stamps accordingly. The neglect of this precaution exposes the publisher to a loss of stamps, which it is his desire to avoid in future.

REFUGEES' DISTRESS FUND.

IN our last we published a deeply-interesting statement on the Condition of the refugees from Slavery, who have sought protection within the lines of the Federal army. It may not be generally known that a Committee was formed in London in the early part of last year for the purpose of collecting subscriptions, to be appropriated to the relief of these poor creatures, the victims of that vile system, which it is the object of the rebellion to perpetuate. Since our last issue, the London Committee have inserted an appeal in the public newspapers, which sets forth in so concise a form the chief points of the case, that we reproduce it, in the hope that it may arrest the attention of our friends:

THE DISTRESSED REFUGEE SLAVES.

"The war in the United States has set free upwards of half a million of slaves.

"Many thousands of these, women and children, the old and the infirm, destitute of apparel and the common necessities of life, fleeing from Slavery, or abandoned by their former owners, have taken refuge at Vicksburg, Fortress Monroe, Washington, Cincinnati, Alexandria, York Town, Norfolk, and other places. A most inclement winter at the present time is aggravating their sufferings. The number of refugees increases so fast, that the work of succouring them taxes to the utmost the resources of the United States' Government, which cannot keep pace with the influx, and the active intervention of private benevolence has therefore become imperative.

"Large sums have been collected in the United States, and appropriated to supply the immediate wants of these poor people, until they are placed in a position to earn a living. By direction and under the authority of a representative meeting

of the Society of Friends in London, a Committee was formed some time ago to promote the above charitable work, and upwards of 3000*l.* has been privately contributed, and applied to the object. The Committee believe, that were the facts more generally known, subscriptions would flow in from the benevolent, and they are therefore induced to issue this appeal to the public, in the earnest hope of a prompt and liberal response."

We have received a few small donations, prompted by the narrative in our last Number. Amongst them was "One Shilling from a Little Boy who had saved it up." This interesting incident has suggested to us a "Children's subscription to the Coloured Refugees' Distress Fund," of which we shall be happy to become the Treasurer, *pro tem.* The smaller offerings need not shut out larger subscriptions from other sources, which, if forwarded to us, shall be duly transferred to the London Committee. Communications and subscriptions in postage stamps, or per Post-office Order, may be sent to L. A. Chamerovzow, 27 New Broad Street, E.C., and will be gratefully acknowledged.

COTTON.

WE return to the subject of cotton-growing by free-labour, because it is one of daily-increasing importance, especially with relation to the permanent prosperity of our West-India Colonies. We wish it to be understood, that any remarks of our's, bearing adversely upon the enterprises of English Cotton Companies for these colonies, were not intended to discourage present effort in this direction. We believe they may do good, in demonstrating what can be effected by capital properly employed. We feel satisfied, however, that such combinations do not possess the elements of permanence, and we are, moreover, constrained to consider the whole question in its relation to the interests of the masses of the labouring population. Cotton in the West Indies may, for the purposes of our argument, be compared to corn in this country. Were the conditions of landholding here similar to those in the former, and were the farm-labourer able to own or to rent a patch of ground, and cultivate it for his own account, as the West-India peasant can, unquestionably a far larger quantity of corn would be produced than the country now yields; and were this grain an article in great demand for export, the stimulus to its extended cultivation would be so much greater. In the West Indies, where every peasant may hold a small plot of land, cotton may be grown in any quantity, and at the smallest expenditure of labour. It is an occupation which women and children may follow and assist in profitably, after the male members of the family have performed the preliminary opera-

tions of preparing the ground for the seed. The crop gathered in would probably have to be sold unginmed to established Companies, or to special agents, who would find it to their advantage to purchase in the bulk, and to gin, pack, and ship. Gradually, the small colonial grower would improve his means, and obtain a gin of his own, perhaps even a press, and thus cultivation would go on. The peasant would not, because he became a cotton-grower on his own account, be therefore necessarily lost as a labourer to the general labour-market, and all parties would benefit by an arrangement which, while largely increasing the resources of the peasant, would still leave the planter in no worse position for labour.

As regards the proprietary body, the cotton-growing question assumes the vastest proportions. We know that all localities are not alike suitable for the raising of cotton and sugar and coffee; but if parties in England can combine, and invest capital for cotton-cultivation in Jamaica, or in any other colony, why should not the West-India proprietors do the same thing. Local combinations of this kind have immense advantages over foreign Companies. Two or more proprietors may associate themselves under the Limited Liability Companies' Act, with a capital guaranteed by land, buildings, plant, and so forth. Fair wages, regularly paid, will—according to the most recent and reliable testimony—secure any amount of labour; and it is a well-established fact, that if cultivation be on an extensive scale, the item of wages is not the most important element in the calculation of profits; in other words, it pays to give a high rate of wages. But this is, of course, a mere question of detail, and is certain to be settled by the conditions of the labour-market.

It is a good and an encouraging sign to find that some of the wealthier planters of Jamaica have projected a Cotton-growing Association, at the head of which, as its President, is a gentleman named Phillips, Custos of the parish of St. James', the owner of several estates in that and in the parish of Hanover, who, having amassed considerable wealth in commercial pursuits, has invested a large portion of it in the soil. He has subscribed liberally, it is said, to the new Association, independently of becoming a large shareholder, and he has further allowed an extensive field, on one of the properties under his control to be planted out in cotton. Other gentlemen have united with him, and there appears to be a prospect of the formation of similar Associations in other parts of the island, as in some of the other colonies.

We rejoice exceedingly in this movement, not only because it is likely to bring under cotton-culture land now lying unproductive, but because it will infallibly lead to the de-

velopment of the agricultural wealth of the colonies. No one can look at these splendid countries without feeling that their inexhaustible natural resources have been shamefully, culpably overlooked by those whose interest it was to develop them. No doubt much discouragement has been engendered amongst the planters, in consequence of the unjust legislation of the Home Government in relation to the sugar duties; but it is all too late to attempt to obtain an alteration of the Sugar Act. The present administration is pledged to a free-trade policy, even in respect of stolen goods, in which light slave-grown sugar may be regarded, and the Tory or Conservative party has stultified itself by opposing any return to protective duties, for the imposition of which, nevertheless, they once so loudly clamoured. Under these circumstances, seeing that it is sheer waste of strength to agitate for what is unattainable, the wisest course is for our West-India proprietary to consider their position with the serious attention becoming men of business, men of action. So long as their only cry was one of distress and ruin, and they sat down in despair, yet having mines of wealth under their very feet, so long was it our duty to exhort them to self-help, and to discourage the empirical remedies they sought, in demands for protection when it could not be had, and for foreign labour which had to be paid for out of the public purse. Now that they appear to be awakening to a consciousness of their real position, and to be earnestly setting about to make the best of it, we shall deem ourselves committed to support and encourage them to the utmost extent of our power. Let there arise no further cries of "ruin" to discourage commercial men, and prevent their investment of capital in West-India enterprise; let the neglect, the mismanagement, and the absence of economy, so culpable and notorious, disappear, and attention, thrifty supervision, and prudent expenditure take their place. Let the legislature, too, home and colonial, do its duty; let the people do theirs, as they will if properly stimulated; let all who are interested—for whatever reason, from whatever motive—in the permanent prosperity of the colonies, a prosperity which must be based upon that of the people; let all unite to work harmoniously and with a will, and rapidly will British capital flow into them, bringing increased commerce and augmenting revenue.*

* The Editor would be glad to receive communications from parties in the West Indies, engaged in these new enterprises. He deeply regrets that his files of journals are so imperfect, and would solicit exchanges, as well as correspondence.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

THE GOVERNOR OF ANTIGUA ON NEGRO EDUCATION.

IN a recent Number of the *Dominican* we find the reprint of a letter which Colonel Hill, Governor of Antigua, addressed, on the 29th of September last, to the Inspector of Schools for the island, in reply to the Report of the Commissioners of Education. In it occurs the following passage :

"My own experience tends to the belief that negro boys educated for a position in the social scale above that in which God has placed them, is a mistake in jurious to the future of the boy, as it generally makes him ambitious and dissatisfied with his lot in life."

It requires the exercise of a little ingenuity to arrive at the precise meaning of this specimen of official composition, and we can imagine the puzzled air of the Inspector of Schools—who is of course familiar with the elementary rules of Syntax—as he attempted to reconcile the Governor's phraseology with them. We can fancy him floundering through it, something after the following fashion :

"What's this he says? What's a mistake? 'Negro boys educated, etcetera, etcetera,' is [a mistake.] No! That's absurd. He can't mean that. Let's look at it again. 'Educated negro boys is a mistake.' Bah! That's ridiculous as well as absurd.' One more try. 'Negro boys is a mistake.' Oh, dear! That's worse still. Ah! I have it! Grammar is out of the question in this case; we must fall back on imagination. The Governor doesn't say so, but he means this: 'To educate negro boys for a position in the social scale above that in which God has placed them, is a mistake.' Ah! I see, I see! The Governor's grammar is wretched enough, but his philosophy is unsound, detestable, bad, thoroughly bad."

Such, we repeat, may have been the process by which the Inspector of Schools arrived at a knowledge of the Governor's sentiments on the subject of negro education. At any rate it was our's, and we conclude we do not misrepresent Colonel Hill's views. That they indicate any thing but a friendly feeling towards the negro, no one will venture to deny, and enunciated by an individual possessing the power to give them practical effect, even the simple expression of them is of a highly mischievous tendency, for it can have no other result than to perpetuate pro-slavery prejudice, and odious distinctions of class. One of the gravest charges against the system of Slavery is, that it keeps its victims in ignorance; consequently in mental as well as in physical degradation. The advocates and apologists of "the peculiar institution" aver that the negro was born to the condition of a slave,

and that to emancipate him is an interference with the designs of Providence. Pro-Slavery fanaticism therefore prohibits, under the severest penalties, the educating of the slave. Arrogance, however, has reached its limit when it presumes to define "the position in the social scale" in "which God has placed the negro." Governor Hill is manifestly not the "negro's friend," and it may fairly be asked, whether, holding the views he does, he is a suitable person to govern a colony the inhabitants of which are of African descent.

On what principle, we would ask, does Governor Hill presume to determine the position in the social scale in which God has placed the negro? If his dogma mean any thing, it means that a negro slave and his descendants must continue slaves; that a freed negro, being ignorant, must so remain; and that his children must not be educated beyond a certain degree. It means that the negro is born to occupy only a very subordinate position, and that he must not be permitted any aspirations after one more elevated, nor the enjoyment of those educational advantages which alone can fit him to occupy it with honour and dignity. If, however, a negro may be educated at all, how shall it be said to him, "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." Restrictions are illogical in such a case, and Governor Hill is at variance with his own theory when he recommends or attempts to impose them. It admits of no medium. There must be education without limitation, or no education at all. The Governor's reason against educating negro boys is also singularly puerile; "it is injurious to the future of the boy, as it generally makes him ambitious, and dissatisfied with his lot in life." This is merely asserting that the intelligent negro lad is as sensible as any intelligent white lad. The very purpose of education is to enlarge the understanding, to stimulate the mind, to improve, to elevate it. Suppose it does make the negro lad ambitious! Does it not produce the same result in the case of the white boy, when there is intellect to work upon? And if objectionable in the former case, why not in the latter? The simple truth is that Governor Hill is led away by his pro-slavery prejudices, and has been unable to resist the opportunity of giving them expression. We rejoice to record that his opinions have been very strongly condemned, and we trust the journals which have taken the matter up, will not permit it to drop until the Governor has made the *amende* in due form. Let us look, for a moment, at the possible effect of such views carried into practice. The entire amount allowed by the Legislature of Antigua, for educational purposes, is 1000*l.* per annum, out of which the sum of 200*l.* is set apart for the salary of the

Inspector of Schools. Nothing beyond the simplest elements of instruction can be given for this sum; yet it is admitted, that not only in Antigua, but throughout the West Indies, popular education is on far too restricted a scale to meet the growing wants of the people. What prospect, we ask, is there of any attempt on the part of the Legislature of Antigua, to augment the yearly educational grant, or to encourage education in the island, in any way, when the Governor's views are known to be opposed to the teaching of the negro? Has he not in substance written "negro boys is a mistake; educated negro boys is, especially." We shall closely watch Governor Hill's course, especially in relation to the subject of education, but trust he may be guided in future by better sentiments than he professes in theory; sentiments more in accordance with the spirit of the age, and more in harmony with the intelligence of the people of Antigua.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

In another column will be found extracts from a letter, received by the last mail, from an old and esteemed correspondent in Jamaica, which dwells upon the total failure of the immigration system in that island. As our opposition to it was founded upon sound principles, we were enabled long ago to predict its ultimate result: colonial indebtedness; disappointment to the planter; increased taxation, falling chiefly upon the labouring community; misery, destitution, and death in store for the deluded immigrant. As prophets, we claim no credit for the verification of our prophecy. The result was to be anticipated with as much certainty as the solution of a problem in Euclid; and were it not that all experience is against folly's acquiring wisdom at its own expense, we might hope to see the promoters of this ruinous system commence a steadfast opposition to its further prosecution.

When the large and influential deputation, headed by Lord Brougham, waited upon the Duke of Newcastle, in July 1859, to present a memorial against the continuance of the present system of immigration, promoted by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, his Grace stated, that if it were established to his satisfaction, that the imported Coolies were neglected, either physically or spiritually—and the Duke specially emphasized the latter word—he should consider a case made out for his immediate and resolute interference against any further importations. We presume that his Grace has not been without information on this precise point; but immigration was not interfered with, not-

withstanding. It remains to be seen whether any thing can be done to mitigate the dreadful position in which the unfortunate Coolies are now alleged to be, in Jamaica. We fear their case will be found to present any difficulties, and that alleviative measures will come too late for the majority to benefit by them.

Meanwhile the immigration question is being discussed in British Guiana with singular vigour and resolution. It is alleged that this colony has benefited exceedingly by immigration; but we arrive at a contrary opinion, looking at the question from our own point of view, which, of course, we consider the soundest. Be the fact as it may, no doubt the conditions of Coolie or Chinese immigration into British Guiana are not the same as they are in the case of Trinidad or of Jamaica; nevertheless, in its main features the system and its evils are identical in all, differing only in degree. In each case the colony—that is the labouring community chiefly—is taxed to defray a very large portion of the cost, although its direct, legal share is only one-third of that of introduction. Even the sturdiest advocates of the system admit it to be "at best an expensive affair;" and were the employers of foreign labour compelled—as they ought in justice to be—to pay the entire cost, direct and indirect, of immigration, the outcry against it would be as loud as it has been in favour of it. The average annual number of immigrants—exclusive of liberated Africans—introduced during the last ten years into British Guiana, is 4600, and it is estimated that 4000 a year would amply suffice. In 1860 the number reached 8162; in 1861, 7160; and in 1862, 8160; manifestly, therefore, an unusual importation, and equal to double the actual requirement. In 1863, the total demand for Indians and Chinese reached only 4525, and for the present season it has dropped to 3170. An attempt is being very wisely made by Governor Hineks to limit the importations to the actual demand, evidently with a view to save all parties expense. A division of opinion, however, exists respecting the source whence the coveted foreign labour is to be drawn. Indian and Chinese Coolies are not approved of, save as a *pis aller*—go further, fare worse—the Chinese being preferred, while the liberated Africans are regarded as merely a supplementary supply. The choice seemed to lie between the "contrabands" from the United States, and the Barbadians. Of the former class the Governor does not approve. But it is argued that the cost of introducing them will be much less than that incidental to Indian or Chinese immigration, while from Barbados it would ensure a yet larger reduction. Whatever the ultimate result of the reduction may be, it is quite certain that

the colony is committed to an expensive immigration scheme, which it will require at least 250,000*l.* to carry out, and the bulk of which it is quite safe to predict will fall upon that portion of the population that contributes most to the general revenue.

We cannot but regret that experience appears to be entirely thrown away in the case of the British-Guiana planters. The Governor cannot, as a Government servant, oppose immigration. The utmost he can do is to mitigate its evils by proper precautions against excessive importations. He is understood to have done what lay in his power to facilitate immigration from whatever source; but, if we mistake not, the present system can bring only expense and disappointment upon all parties concerned.

SLAVERY DRAWN FROM THE DECISIONS OF SOUTHERN COURTS.

(Resumed from the "New-England Loyal Publication Society's" sheets.)

HUNTING A SLAVE WITH DOGS IS RIGHT ACCORDING TO SOUTHERN LAW.

WE have heard a great deal at the North of runaway slaves being hunted by dogs, and some people have supposed it was a mere effort of imagination. It is, however, according to Southern law.

Witness the case of *Moran vs. Gardner Davis*, 18 Georgia Rep., 722, in which it was decided, that "it is lawful to hunt runaway slaves with dogs, provided it be done with a due caution and circumspection." In that case the plaintiff had hired his slave to the defendant. Whilst in the service of the latter he ran away. His master, for the time being, employed a creature by the name of Hamblin, who hunted him with dogs, but the poor fellow, terrified by the pursuit, plunged into a creek, and was drowned. The owner sued him for the value of the slave, such an idea as punishing the miscreant criminally being out of the question. But the owner is told by the Court, "that it is lawful to hunt a slave with dogs on *general principles*, provided the dogs would not lacerate, and otherwise *materially* injure the slave—the statute of the State prohibiting the use of harsh or cruel treatment of slaves, using the words *unnecessarily biting or tearing with dogs*."

THE MARRIAGE OF SLAVES AN IDLE CEREMONY, AND THE CHILDREN OF MARRIED SLAVES ILLEGITIMATE.

Many apologies and explanations have been made as to the condition of slaves at the South in regard to marriage, and the effort has been used to lead us, at the North, to believe that matters in this respect were not so bad as represented. But what say the reports?

Let us examine *Merlinda vs. Gardner*, 24 Alab., 719, and there we find the law laid down thus:

"Slaves cannot contract marriage, nor does their cohabitation confer any legal rights on their children. Persons in that condition are incapable of contracting marriage, because that relation brings with it certain duties and rights, with reference to which it is supposed to be entered into; but these are necessarily incompatible with the nature of Slavery, as the one cannot be discharged nor the other be recognised without doing violence to the rights of the owner. In every State where Slavery exists, and the question has been presented, it has so been decided.

"If the father and mother, being slaves, are freed by the master's will, and the father afterwards acquires property, the children cannot inherit his property.

"As a necessary consequence, it escheats to the State."

The marriage, then, of slaves is a mere idle ceremony. Their children are illegitimate, and have no rights, and even freedom puts their offspring in no better position.

To the same effect is *Girod vs. Lewis*, 6, Martin, Louis. Rep., 559.

THEREFORE A SLAVE CANNOT AVENGE THE GROSSEST INDIGNITY PERPETRATED ON HIS WIFE.

No wonder, then, that we find such decisions as the following:

"*Alfred vs. The State* (8 George, 37 Mississippi Reports), in which it was ruled that "adultery with a slave's wife is no defence to a charge of murder, and that a slave indicted for the murder of his overseer cannot introduce, as evidence for his defence, upon a trial for murder in the first degree, the fact that the deceased, a few hours before the killing, had forced the prisoner's wife to submit to his embraces, and that this had been communicated to the prisoner before the killing."

Poor fellow! Wounded to the quick by an outrage committed on the partner of his bosom, which, slave as he was, he could feel, it could not be offered even in mitigation of his punishment.

Or the following:

"*George vs. The State*, 37 Mississippi Rep., 8 George, 317; where a terrible outrage was forcibly committed and successfully perpetrated by a slave upon the chastity of a female slave under the age of ten years, and yet the Court decided that it was no offence. White women might be protected from similar wrongs, but the poor slave girl was beyond the pale of the law. She is sent away with such feeling remarks as these on the part of the Judge: 'The slave is held *pro nullis*, and of the right of personal security, personal liberty, and private property, the slave is deprived. There are two or three early cases founded mainly upon the unmeaning twaddle in which some humane Judges and law-writers have indulged as to the influence of the natural law, civilization, and Christian enlightenment in amending the harshness of the law.'

But these considerations found no place in the bosom of the Mississippi Judge, and the harshness of the law, in this case, had its full exercise.

This case was decided as late as 1859, and its results even startled the darkened condition of Mississippi, for, at the ensuing session of legislature of that State, the crime was made punishable by express statute.

EMANCIPATION ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE.—THE WIFE OF A SLAVE-OWNER AND HIS OWN CHILD BOTH EMANCIPATED BY HIM, DECREED, AFTER HIS DEATH, TO BE SLAVES, AND PART OF HIS ESTATE.

We have seen that in Louisiana emancipation is utterly prohibited. How difficult it is in any Slave State can easily be discovered by any one who will examine their statutes and the decisions based upon them. The process is encumbered with so many difficulties, requiring oftentimes the sanction of the Legislature, that practically it would almost appear to be a hopeless task. The slave cannot approach the legislature, and is, in case of receiving freedom by the will of his deceased owner, left at the mercy of an executor or administrator, who may throw every obstacle in his way, or decline any interference whatever on his behalf.

Look, for instance, at the celebrated Brasealle case, often cited, and reported in 2d Howard Mississippi Reports, 837. There Elisha Brasealle, a planter in Mississippi, was faithfully and successfully nursed by a mulatto slave during a dangerous and protracted illness. He afterwards took her to Ohio, had her educated, and finally married her, having first emancipated her, by deed recorded in Ohio and Mississippi. He returned with her to the latter State, where she gave birth to a son. Upon Mr. Brasealle's death his will was found, in which he ratified the deed of emancipation, and devised all his property to this son, whom he acknowledged to be such. The will, however, was successfully contested as to the validity of the emancipation and devise to the son, by some distant relatives of the testator in North Carolina. The Judge (Sharkey), in his opinion, uses this language:

"The state of the case shews conclusively that the contract had its origin in an offence against morality, pernicious and detestable as an example. But, above all, it seems to have been planned and executed with a fixed design to evade the rigour of the laws of this State. The acts of the party in going to Ohio with the slaves, and there executing the deed, and his immediate return with them to this State, point with unerring certainty to his purpose and object. The laws of this State cannot be thus defrauded of their operation by one of our own citizens."

This merciful Judge gave no quarter to the slaves. No time was afforded to apply to the legislature to sanction the emancipation, but the greedy North Carolinians took the whole of the estate, and the mother and son were decreed, in the language of the Judge, "*still slaves, and part of the estate of Elisha Brasealle.*"

The reader can now appreciate at its true worth

Professor Morse's declaration that "those traits [of Slavery] which have excited horror are altogether *extrinsic and accidental*: it is not the Slavery of the Southern States."

Sufficient facts have also been presented to enable the reader to give a correct answer to the following question proposed by Judge Woodward, late Copperhead candidate for the Governorship of Pennsylvania, in a speech on December 13, 1860:

"Do you not see, and feel how good it was for us to hand over our slaves to our friends of the South—how good it was for us that they have employed them in raising a staple for our manufacturers—how wise it was to so adjust the compromises of the Constitution, that we could live in union with them and reap the signal advantages to which I have adverted? *We consigned them to no heathen thrall, but to Christian men professing the same faith with us—speaking the same language—reading the golden rule in no one-sided and distorted shape, but as it is recorded—a rule to slaves as well as masters.*"

To this assurance of Judge Woodward's we will add an argument from the letter of Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, in defence of Slavery:

"But, it is said, the poor slaves are treated *with barbarity*, and doubtless it may sometimes be true, just as soldiers and sailors, and even wives and children, are shamefully abused amongst ourselves in many instances. It is evident, however, that the system of Slavery cannot be specially liable to reproach on this score, because every motive of interest must be opposed to it. . . . Hence I cannot doubt that the examples of barbarity must be exceedingly few. On the whole, indeed, I see no reason to deny the statement of our Southern friends, that their slaves are the happiest labourers in the world. Their wants are all provided for by their master."

Yes, "all their wants provided for" by "masters who read the golden rule in no one-sided and distorted shape," but whose Christian faith and practice are revealed by the unerring records of the law of their humane and (according to the "Bishop") "divinely-sanctioned" system of Slavery.

We have examined this system, as developed in the Southern Courts, and what is the result? No faith is to be kept with a slave, (he has no rights,) he may be beaten without any redress; (his property is not his own;) if even his master is tender-hearted, such kindness of feeling must be repressed, (he may be lawfully hunted by dogs;) the forcible violation of his wife is no excuse for vengeance on the aggressor, (the chastity of a female slave is of no account;) sympathy for them is mere "twaddle," (and their restoration to freedom must be discountenanced and refused).

If this be a Christian system, let us renounce Christianity and Slavery together. But neither Bishops nor Judges will persuade the Christian freemen of the North that Southern Slavery is any

thing but an institution utterly opposed to the spirit of the religion of Christ, to every humane instinct and sound moral and political principle. The men who defend it are not worthy of the name of American citizens.

JOSIAH QUINCY TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

THE following letter from the Hon. Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, to the President of the United States, will be read with interest by all who recall the extreme age and eminent public services of the writer, and his illustrious revolutionary ancestry. Mr. Quincy was born in 1772. He was a member of Congress in 1805, and served until 1813, and, throughout this period of life, did not cease to expose and denounce the ambitious projects of the slaveholding interest. He was in the Massachusetts Senate from 1813 to 1821. He was then elected to the House of Representatives and chosen Speaker. In 1823 he was Mayor of Boston, holding his place until 1828. He was then appointed President of Harvard University, and held office until 1845, since which time he has lived in private. In 1856 he was a warm supporter of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, making one speech in Quincy.

We remind our readers of these events in the life of Mr. Quincy, that they may know how to value properly the sentiments and opinions of the writer of the letter which follows. It will be seen that Mr. Quincy preserves the freshness, hopefulness, and courageous cheer of youth, and shews no other sign of age than its wisdom and experience. Our readers cannot but be impressed with the vigour, clearness, and compactness of the style in which the writer's firm convictions are expressed.

"HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

"SIR,—Old age has its privileges, which I hope this letter will not exceed. But I cannot refrain from expressing to you my gratification and my gratitude for your letter to the Illinois Convention—happy, timely, conclusive, and effective. What you say concerning emancipation, your proclamation, and your course of proceedings in relation to it, was due to truth and your own character, shamefully assailed as it has been. The development is an imperishable monument of wisdom and virtue,

"Negro Slavery and the possibility of emancipation have been subjects of my thoughts for more than seventy years, being first introduced to it by the debates in the Convention of Massachusetts for adopting the Constitution, in 1788, which I attended. I had, subsequently, opportunities of knowing the views on that subject, not only of such men as Hamilton, King, Jay, and Pickering, but also of distinguished slaveholders

—of both the Pinckneys, of William Smith of South Carolina, and of many others. With the first of these I had personal intercourse and acquaintance. I can truly say that I never knew the individual, slaveholder or non-slaveholder, who did not express a detestation of it, and the desire and disposition to get rid of it. The only difficulty, in case of emancipation, was, What shall we do for the master, and what shall we do with the slave? A satisfactory answer to both these questions has been, until now, beyond the reach and the grasp of human wisdom and power.

"Through the direct influence of a good and gracious God, the people of the United States have been invested with the power of answering satisfactorily both these questions, and also of providing for the difficulties incident to both, of which, if they fail to avail themselves, thoroughly and conclusively, they will entail shame on themselves and sorrow and misery on many generations.

"It is impossible for me to regard the power thus granted to this people otherwise than as proceeding from the direct influence of a superintending Providence, who ever makes *those mad whom He intends to destroy*.

"The only possible way in which Slavery, after it had grown to such height, could have been abolished, is that which heaven has adopted.

"Your instrumentality in the work is to you a subject of special glory, favour, and felicity. The madness of Secession and its inevitable consequence, civil war, will, in their result, give the right and the power of universal emancipation sooner or later. If the United States do not understand and fully appreciate the boon thus bestowed on them, and fail to improve it to the utmost extent of the power granted, they will prove recreant to themselves and posterity.

"I write under the impression that the victory of the United States in this war is inevitable.

"Compromise is impossible. Peace on any other basis would be the establishment of two nations, each hating the other, both military, both necessarily hostile, their territories interlocked, with a tendency to never-ceasing hostility. Can we leave to posterity a more cruel inheritance, or one more hopeless of happiness and prosperity?

"Pardon the liberty I have taken in this letter, and do not feel obliged in any way to take notice of it; and believe me, ever your grateful and obliged servant,

"JOSIAH QUINCY."

"Quincy, Sept. 7, 1863."

The same venerable statesman has addressed another letter to his townsman, the patriarchal Judge Williams, who is in his ninetieth year, acknowledging the receipt of the pamphlet recently published by the latter, upon the nullification and compromise

of 1833. The *New Bedford Mercury* of the 6th November ult., published the text of the letter as follows:

"HON. JOHN MASON WILLIAMS,

"DEAR SIR,—I have received your favour of the 30th ult., with its accompanying pamphlet, with the feelings natural to old age, when the shadowy recollections of former friendships are revived by the sudden reappearance of still surviving realities. I accept and reciprocate all the expressions of kindness and respect your letter contains. Your pamphlet I have read with great interest and sense of obligation. It revives facts, opinions, and feelings which the lapse of time had obliterated, but which are suitable to be revived at the present crisis. The memory of regret and indignation at the pretension of Jackson's spirited, constitutional resistance to the insolent, rebellious demonstration of South Carolina, in 1833, still excites my mind, accompanied with a sense of shame and sorrow at the mean and tame spirit of concession and submission which succeeded his vapouring spirit of resistance. My feelings at this tergiversating policy your interesting treatise recalls. My opinion coincides with yours, that if the spirit of rebellion in South Carolina had been put down by a military force, it would have prevented the occurrence of that under which we are now suffering. But I see, or think I see, the hand of Providence in the acquiescence of the country in Jackson's vacillating policy. A decision by the military arm at that time would have been only that of a side issue, the forced obedience of the rebel State to the principle of tariff protection, and would have left the real cause of rebellion untouched and unsettled. The real source of rebellion was then concealed, and is now brought into full sight. The opportunity to settle fully, ultimately, and for ever the question of Slavery, is the gift of Providence. If we fail to co-operate in this policy of Heaven, and fight till his purposes are effected, ours will be the shame, the sorrow, and loss.

"Truly and thankfully yours,

"JOSEPH QUINCY.

"Boston, Nov. 2, 1863."

THE RESULTS OF FREE LABOUR.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL THOMAS has recently made the following report on the subject of hired labour on Southern plantations:

"Natchez, Miss., Oct. 15, 1863.

"SIR,—I recently passed a few days at Goodrich's Landing, Louisiana, fifty miles above Vicksburg, one of my purposes being to ascertain the condition of the head plantations, to what extent the cultivation of cotton had been carried, and especially to know whether the cultivation of plantations could not be carried on as well by hired free men as by slaves. The gathering of cotton is now in full operation, and it may be too soon to report fully the result. But the facts in my possession are sufficient for a judgment on the experiment as previously reported.

"The season had advanced fully two months

from the time cotton should have been planted, which was unavoidable, though the system was put into operation as soon after my coming to this country as was possible. The lessees, therefore, laboured under great disadvantages in this respect, for most of them had first to run the furrow to plant the seed, then plant their corn, relying on subsequent time to break up the ground between the furrows of cotton and exterminate the weeds. The necessity of withdrawing the troops from Louisiana to augment the forces operating against Vicksburg kept the line of plantations, some sixty in all, without adequate protection when the rebels made the attack on Milliken's Bend, where they were signally defeated, and made raids on the plantations, scattering and driving off the negroes and stock.

"This occurred at the time when it was important to cultivate the crops. Some time elapsed before the hands could be collected and be induced to recommence work. The consequence was, fully one-half of the crops were not worked at all, and in other cases, where some work was done, the weeds and plants had to grow up together, the ill weed overtopping the cotton plant. The army-worm attacked all the late cotton, destroying from one-fourth to a third of the crop. Still, under all these disadvantages, not one of the lessees will lose money, but all derive a profit. I know that they are satisfied with the experiment: all desire the re-lease for another year.

"The negro lessees, of whom there are some fifteen, will make from four or five bales up to, in one case, one hundred and fifty; and it is a fact that the cotton they have raised for themselves, owing to better cultivation, is of a higher grade than that of the white lessees. Some of the negroes have cultivated by themselves and families, while others have employed their fellow-freed men. The freed men have all worked for wages according to a scale fixed upon by the Board of Commissioners, and at a higher rate, I understand, than was adopted in the Department of the Gulf. They have been well and more abundantly fed than they were when held in Slavery. Schools have been established upon the plantations, and the lessees have felt it a duty by every proper means to elevate this unfortunate race.

"As a general rule, they greatly prefer working with Northern men, whom they regard as their friends, to working with Southerners, even their former owners; and I hazard nothing in saying that the net proceeds on a crop by a Northerner who has paid his hands wages will exceed that of a Southerner who has cultivated by slaves, the number of acres being the same in both cases. Those employed have thus been of no expense to the Government, but supported themselves and families. They are perfectly contented, and look forward with hope to future elevation of character.

"The experiments, adopted hastily and from necessity with many misgivings, I now regard a complete success. The number of bales of cotton raised on these plantations will not much, if any, fall short of eight thousand bales, giving to the Government some one hundred and fifty thousand

dollars of revenue. The lessees will also pay to the Quartermaster's department, for mules, utensils, &c., furnished or found on the places, some one hundred thousand dollars. The charge in lieu of rent is two dollars a bale, making sixteen thousand dollars. The Government share on some few plantations abandoned by the lessees may sell for one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. I desire this money, or as much as may be necessary, set aside as a fund necessary to pay the expenses of this year, and of the year commencing January 1, 1864.

"It is a significant fact, that while transports on the river have been frequently fired into by the rebels, not a single shot has been fired from that line of the river covered by leased plantations, extending for seventy-five miles above Vicksburg, which shews the importance to commerce of lining the river with a loyal population.

"I have, Sir, the honour to be, very respectfully, your obedient Servant,

"L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War."

"Headquarters District Northeast Louisiana, Goodrich's Landing, Oct. 9, 1863.

"Hon. HENRY T. BLOW, St. Louis, Mo.

"DEAR SIR,—I write to you as my friend, and as a public man taking interest in whatever concerns the public good. There is an immense gold-field down here, and nobody appears to know it. I want it thrown open to the people, so the people can work in it. I refer to the many-abandoned plantations from Helena, Arkansas, to Natchez, Louisiana. The owners, most of them, have fled with their negroes to Texas and elsewhere, leaving land that should be occupied.

"During this year some of the plantations have been worked by Northern men, by hiring negro labour. But few leases were given, as it was late in the season when the idea of cultivation was thought of. Three Commissioners were appointed by General Thomas, who gave the leases. The plan was the best that could be adopted on the spur of the moment.

"What leases were given expire in February next, and then I want to see a large labouring population from the North come down here and fill up the country. I lived at Fort Kearney during two good excitements. One was California, the other Pike's Peak. I saw the great numbers of people that moved there to dig for gold. The gold got there was nothing to what can be made by coming to this country. Let the prospect be advertised in the newspapers of the West, that every man coming down here can have eighty or two hundred acres of cotton land, according to his means for working it, to work for one year. Two hundred acres of land means two hundred bales of cotton, the net price of which in New York will be forty thousand dollars. If eighty acres, it will be sixteen thousand dollars. With hired labour cotton can be raised at five cents per pound, which gives a profit of forty-five cents per pound net. No farmer in the North ever dreamed of such profit; and if the advantages of coming here were known they would flock down here by thousands.

"This matter should be brought to the notice of the Government. You will naturally say the Commissioners appointed are the ones to do it, if it has any thing to recommend it; but I am sorry to say the interests of the Commissioners are opposed to the plan, as they are interested in plantations themselves, and next year wish to make leases of large tracts to one person or persons of large capital, who may hire others to look after their business. I want the man of moderate means, our Western labourers, here. They will be a militia to take care of the country, and our troops can go elsewhere. The persons who cultivate the next cotton crop are the ones who will buy the land here. Shall this land be distributed among a few and in large tracts, or is it not to the interests of our Government and our people that it should be owned in small tracts? The first way is what the Commissioners would have, for they will be extensive purchasers. On this question they are perfectly rotten; and for the good of our country, and to rebuke selfishness, I want to head them off. For the good of the slaves freed by Mr. Lincoln's proclamation I wish it; for to a great extent the ground will be tilled by their labour, and I want a large population of white people here, so their labour will be in demand and be respected, and combinations of a few capitalists cannot be made against them. We have uprooted one aristocracy here; let us not establish, by our own act, one of another kind.

"The question of title to the land must not make timid a man who is thinking to come here. The cultivation for one year is enough to induce him to come. A man that takes only eighty acres can go back home at the end of the year with at least eight thousand dollars in his pocket. Would he make one-tenth of that by staying at home? See what you can do towards sending the thousands to our gold-fields, and locating a large population on the banks of the Mississippi river. See Secretary Chase on the subject. Any man who has seen the emigrants going to California and Pike's Peak knows the inducements and recommendation for coming here. Every officer I have spoken to on the subject favours it. Those who want to plant largely and be the future aristocrats here oppose it. Now is the time to change the destiny of this country. I hope you will work favourably and immediately for it.

"Yours truly, —."

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

WE subjoin the Annual Report of the *London Emancipation Society*, adverted to in our summary.

EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Annual Report, 1863-4.

"In meeting the members of the Society generally, after a lapse of twelve months, we feel that it is quite unnecessary for us to present a voluminous report. The history of the Society's operations during that period is too much a matter of public repute to make it needful for us to lay before you the details of our proceedings in all their amplitude. Moreover, the his-

tory of the Society since January last is a record, not of failure, but of success—success, the more gratifying, because it is visible alike in the enlightened opinion of the nation, and in the action of Government. When last we met, the danger which menaced us was the recognition of Southern independence. That danger may be said to have vanished with the Exeter-Hall Meeting; a demonstration which struck the key-note of agitation in the country. To us belonged none of the credit of the great meetings which followed in all parts of the kingdom, save that we led the way, and gave the friends of freedom throughout the empire a common centre, around which they could rally. The movement possessed, in the truest sense, the element of spontaneity. It was originated in all the principal cities and towns of the country, and in many an obscure village and hamlet too, by the people themselves; they who are always the first to comprehend a duty, and the last to turn their back upon it when the work has been once begun. The aristocracy, it is true, have taken sides against us; but the great heart of the nation has been true to its best instincts, and the aristocracy of intellect, with scarcely an exception, has identified itself with our cause. We should ill perform our duty if we did not express our thanks to those men of academic fame—the great thinkers of our age—who have strengthened the *Emancipation Society*, not merely by the weight of their names and authority, but by zealous, practical, and unceasing co-operation. We, of course, especially allude to such men as John Stuart Mill, and Professors Goldwin Smith, Cairnes, and Newman, and others who, though less prominent than they have been, have proved equally valuable coadjutors.

"The Society's peculiar field of labour, as far as agitation was concerned, necessarily lay in the metropolis. The Exeter-Hall Meeting seemed to shew that public opinion did not require to be educated so much as it did to be evoked. Yet, while holding a series of great demonstrations, we did not forget the educational agency. Wherever a chapel or a school-room could be obtained, there we have arranged for the delivery of a lecture, or the holding of a public meeting; and when our friends in the country required a deputation, we endeavoured to send an efficient one. The great meeting in Exeter Hall was speedily followed by another in St. James's Hall, the proceedings of which derived special interest from the rebuke which was administered to Lord Mayor Rose, for having extended the rites of civic hospitality to the author of the Fugitive-Slave Law; an individual who, when he abandoned his mission not many months afterwards, must have carried away with him recollections far less pleasant, but infinitely more enduring, than those connected with the banqueting hall of the Mansion House. Again, in St. James's Hall we co-operated with the Trades' Unions of the metropolis, who held a meeting of the working classes, which was no less remarkable for the great ability and intelligence of the speakers, all of whom (with the exception of Mr. Bright, the chairman, and Professor Beesley) were working men, than for the numbers and enthusiasm of the assembly itself. From the Hanover-Square

Rooms, where our next great meeting was held, we proceeded to the London Tavern, where the multitudes who could not find admission, found vent for their enthusiasm in other halls in the locality. On this occasion, Mr. M. D. Conway, of Virginia, who spoke from experience and observation of the hatefulness of the Slave-power, delivered a lecture; and Mr. Bright, who has added new lustre to his great name by the course which he has taken on this question, presided at the meeting, and delivered one of his luminous and eloquent speeches. The smaller meetings held in London we must dismiss in a sentence or two. They comprehended meetings in the largest accessible hall of every metropolitan borough, and a series of lectures in the Whittington Club; and in every instance the resolutions were carried by overwhelming majorities. To enumerate the names of those who have assisted us may appear invidious; but there are some that we cannot refrain from mentioning: Mr. Thomas Hughes, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Mr. George Thompson, the Rev. Newman Hall, Mr. Washington Wilks, Dr. Massie, Mr. Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of London, Professor Newman, the Rev. Sella Martin, Mr. M. D. Conway, the Rev. J. H. Rylance, Mr. John Gorrie, the Rev. John Kennedy, the Rev. John Graham, Mr. Edmond Beales, and Dr. Tomkins. Nor must we omit to place on record our warm appreciation of the services rendered to the Committee, both in and out of Parliament, by our valued Treasurer, Mr. P. A. Taylor; and our sincere thanks to the editors of such journals as the *Morning Star* and the *Daily News*, for the wide publicity they have given to the proceedings of the Society at its numerous meetings.

"During the summer we had some reason to hope that we should be honoured with a visit from the illustrious champion of the American anti-slavery movement, Mr. Wendell Phillips. In this, however, we were disappointed, Mr. Phillips considering, and no doubt justly, that the work before him in America needed the full exercise of all those giant powers of intellect and oratory which, for twenty-five years past, he has so freely placed upon the altar of negro freedom. But instead of Wendell Phillips there came Henry Ward Beecher—a man as equally fitted to unlock men's hearts, and to set the truth clearly before eyes which faction and malice had done their best to distort. No representative man had been more traduced by malignant pens; but his actual presence among us, if it did not abash the calumniators, at least made the poison they distilled as harmless as the ink with which they wrote. At Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, he addressed great audiences—audiences such as no public question has, of late years, brought together. The demonstration at Exeter Hall eclipsed even that of the 29th of January. Every ticket was sold long before the hour of meeting, and it is not too much to say, that if the joint Committee had had five times the number at their disposal they would have found eager purchasers. As it was, the thousands outside the building improvised meetings of their own, and while Mr. Beecher was speaking, the echo of their cheers lent new animation

to the scene within, and attested to the great fact that the cause of freedom was still the people's cause.

"The danger of recognition had long vanished before Mr. Mason ceased to trouble this country with his presence. But a new source of danger arose in the persistent efforts which were made by certain parties to violate our neutrality laws by the unlawful building, arming, and equipping of vessels intended for the Confederate piratical service. The success of the *Alabama* in eluding the grasp of our Foreign Office served to stimulate the conspirators to fresh efforts of the kind. They had two things apparently within their reach—the one the fitting out of a fleet to plunder and destroy American merchantmen on the ocean, and the other the dragging of this country into a war with the United States. Thus was the independence of the South to be achieved by the dishonour and peril of England, and a war of mutual destruction between two kindred nations. When the now historical rams were nearly ready, we addressed a solemn appeal to Lord Russell. That appeal was sustained by a unanimous public opinion; and the expression of this sentiment was speedily followed by the seizure of the obnoxious vessels, which, instead of entering upon the career for which it is believed they were destined, have ever since laid quietly moored in the Mersey. Lord Russell and his colleagues deserve the highest credit for the firmness with which, in this and other matters of a similar kind, they have maintained the neutrality of the country, and honourably sought to prevent a rupture between England and America. We shall continue to watch this question with the vigilance its gravity demands.

"The address to the ministers of Great Britain, which emanated from a thousand French Protestant pastors, was made public in this country through the medium of the Rev. Dr. Massie. This appeal met with a noble response. At a conference of ministers promoted by the Society, and presided over by the Rev. Baptist Noel, a reply was agreed upon. A large number of signatures was obtained through our influence, but to the *Manchester Union and Emancipation Society* is mainly due the honour of having obtained nearly four thousand ministerial signatures to the reply. They, too, held a conference of ministers at Manchester, and from that body the Rev. Dr. Massie and the Rev. J. H. Rylance conveyed the reply, together with another address to the United States. Dr. Massie was received with all honour by the American clergy, and it cannot be doubted that his mission was abundantly successful in removing many doubts and misunderstandings, and in cementing those ties of peace and goodwill which it should ever be the work of Christian ministers to strengthen, especially when there is danger of their being weakened or altogether snapped asunder.

"It is not in this worthy enterprise alone that the activity of our Manchester friends has been exhibited. By the holding of innumerable public meetings, and the circulation of tracts and pamphlets by tens of thousands, they have kept public attention in the North of England incessantly alive to the great question; and the result is to be seen in the existence of a healthy intelli-

gent public opinion which no amount of special pleading can corrupt. Of Mr. T. B. Potter, the President of the Manchester Society, it is enough to say that he has rendered to his country the most distinguished service; and it is gratifying to know that his labours are duly appreciated by tens of thousands of his countrymen. Our colleagues in Liverpool, Bristol, Birmingham, Carlisle, Edinburgh, and in many other towns, have been no less energetic; and we are happy to acknowledge the valuable co-operation we have received from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, a Society which is as true to freedom now as it was in the earlier years of its protracted existence.

"During the past year a Ladies' Emancipation Society has been formed in London. The utility of such a movement is sufficiently obvious. The question of negro emancipation is, in a deep and special sense, a woman's question; and the movement would therefore have been manifestly incomplete without an organization in which woman's sympathy and effort could be especially enlisted. The Ladies' Society has done a good work during the past year, if only by the publication of a series of tracts in which the American struggle, in its varied aspects, has been discussed with great force and clearness by several accomplished pens. We commend this association to the wives and daughters of our members generally, and trust that they will enable it to widely extend its sphere of usefulness.

"The following are among the pamphlets and tracts which we have circulated, some by thousands, during the past year:

"'Who are the Canters?'—and

"'The Revolution in America.' By Professor Cairnes.

"'Mr. Cobden's speech on The Foreign Enlistment Act.

"'The Hon. George Brown's speech on The American War and Slavery.

"'The Red Flag in John Bull's Eye.' By Miss Frances Power Cobbe.

"'Slavery in the United States of North America.' By Robert Trimble.

"'The American War.' By the Rev. Newman Hall.

"'The Destruction of the Republic.' By Loring Moody.

"'The Chivalry of the South.' By Miss Emily Shirriff.

"'The Cause of Freedom.' By Thomas Hughes.

"'The Good Cause of President Lincoln;' and

"'The Character of the Southern States' By Professor Newman.

"'The Uprising of a Great People.' By Count A. De Gasparin.

"'American Finances and Resources;' and—

"'Repudiation, Recognition, and Slavery.' By the Hon. R. J. Walker.

"'The Duties of British Christians.' By the Rev. J. Stock.

"'The Martyrdom of John Brown.' By M. D. Conway.

"'The Bible and Slavery.' By Professor Goldwin Smith.

"'The Alabama.' By one of the Committee.

"The Rev. H. W. Beecher's Speeches.

"Mr. Bright on 'American Affairs.'

"'Hebrew Servitude.' By the Rev. J. Kennedy, M.A.

"'Debts and Resources of the United States.' By Dr. William Elder.

"'Philanthropic Results of the War in America.' By an American Citizen.

"'The War Powers of the President.' By William Whiting; and

"'Reports of the Committee for the Relief of Coloured People suffering from the Riots in New York.'

"One of our last acts has been to hold a farewell *soirée* to our eloquent and devoted colleague, Mr. George Thompson. He will, probably, this very day land for the third time on the shores of the United States, on this occasion to be received with the welcome which is due to one who has advocated with unswerving constancy, and often with matchless eloquence, the cause of the negro for thirty-five years. He is a new link binding us to our American brethren, especially our brethren of the old and true anti-slavery party. We rejoice in the great Republican party; we revere President Lincoln and all who sustain him in his emancipation policy; our faith is great in the American people, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific shore; but we nevertheless feel a still keener sympathy and a loftier admiration for the pioneers of emancipation—the men and women who will welcome our absent friend as their faithful coadjutor in the troublous and never-to-be-forgotten times of thirty years ago.

"WILLIAM EVANS, *Chairman*.

"F. W. CHESSON, *Hon. Sec.*

"65 Fleet Street, London,
2nd February 1864."

Reviews.

Di, or Horrors of the Virginian Slave-trade.
London: A. W. BENNETT, 5 Bishopsgate Street Without.

THIS small volume is the history of a female slave named Dinah, or Di, for brevity's sake. The narrative has been put into a consecutive form by John Hawkins Simpson, and presents what we believe may be accepted as a truthful illustration of a part of the "horrors" of the inter-State slave-trade in the United States, although it is, more correctly speaking, a recital of the vicissitudes of a female slave's life. We have ourselves seen and interrogated Di, and have no reason to call in question the genuineness of her narrative, which we found consistent in all its parts. Mr. Simpson has performed his portion of the work extremely well, for it is exceedingly difficult to obtain from escaped slaves any thing like a consecutive story, their ideas of dates being very confused, while a multitude of incidents are mixed up in their minds with others which relate not to themselves. In addition to Di's history will be found numerous quotations from the Virginian slave-code, under

which many of the indignities inflicted upon Di and some of her fellow-slaves were absolutely legal. The volume is a useful addition to anti-slavery literature, and is calculated to expose some of the abominations of a system which has recently found advocates in this country, and to perpetuate which, with all its atrocities, was the sole purpose of the slaveholders' rebellion.

America: The origin of her present conflict, her prospect for the slaves, and her claim for anti-slavery sympathy. By J. W. MASSIE, D.D., LL.D. London: John Snow, 35 Paternoster Row.

WE are puzzled to understand how Mr. Snow can issue, with profit, a volume like this one of Dr. Massie's, containing 472 pages of closely-printed matter, preceded by a map—one of Bacon's last issues—the whole neatly bound in cloth, for the small sum of six shillings; to subscribers, five shillings. This feat in publishing is, however, not our business, save in so far as we may call attention to it, as indicating the faith of the publisher in the large demand which the interest in the American struggle has created for books relating to it. We may, perhaps, be unable, by any commendation of our's, much to augment the call which will arise for Dr. Massie's "America," his well-known reputation being of itself a sufficient advertisement for the volume he now presents to the public. So far, nevertheless, as our circulation extends, we hope our testimony to its utility will be not without weight.

The Rev. Dr. Massie's visit to the United States originated in the resolution the Committee of the *Manchester Union and Emancipation Society*, to send, by deputation, an "Address to Ministers and Pastors of all Christian Denominations throughout the States of America," which had been suggested by the receipt of an "Address to the Ministers and Pastors of all Evangelical Denominations in Great Britain," from the French Protestant Pastors, urging the British Pastors to promote a manifestation on behalf of the slaves. In accordance with this resolution, the Rev. Dr. Massie and the Rev. J. H. Rylance were appointed the deputation for the presentation of the British Pastoral Address, and the volume under review sets forth the incidents and results of the Mission.

Dr. Massie passed rather more than three months in the United States, and, as might be anticipated, the most interesting part of his work is the narrative of his experience in the Trans-Atlantic Republic, during his journeyings to and fro, in the discharge of his mission. On this portion of it we should feel disposed to dwell, as illustrating most powerfully the marvellous change in opinion, on

the subject of emancipation, which, within an exceedingly brief period, has come over the ministerial body in the North, formerly—as a body—the staunch supporters of Slavery, its apologists, or its “Know-nothings,” and “Do-nothings.” We believe Dr. Massie’s evidence, that Slavery is not now in the Northern Churches, may be implicitly credited. He but confirms the testimony borne by the Rev. H. W. Beecher, when in England, of the radical change of sentiment which the “rebellion” has induced in the body ministerial. This purification is amongst the most hopeful of the many signs that the day of complete and unconditional freedom is at hand, and had Dr. Massie’s mission produced no other result than the confirmation, by his testimony, of this most marvellous and welcome change, it would have proved a great success. Probably to this change of sentiment—nay certainly—was due the cordiality with which, in the majority of instances, he was received and sustained by the brethren in the United States. He brought back numerous cordial responses, and many more have been sent after him. A perfect unanimity of sentiment against Slavery appears to have been now established between the leaders of the Christian denominations in England, France, and the United States, which cannot but be intensified as events progress, and tend to strengthen the hands of those who are combating the moral pestilence.

Dr. Massie’s volume is interspersed with copious extracts from the speeches of public men, upon the great event of the day, corroborating his own view, that the Federal Government is daily acquiring greater power from the increasing tendency to unanimity of sentiment on the subject of the causes of the civil war, and its only remedy, namely, the annihilation of Slavery. As the testimony of one so recently from the States, it is invaluable; and much as we may regret the painful alternative, the conviction is forced upon us, that the sword will not be sheathed by the North until the rebellion and Slavery shall both have been extinguished.

We commend Dr. Massie’s instructive volume to all anti-slavery friends.

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